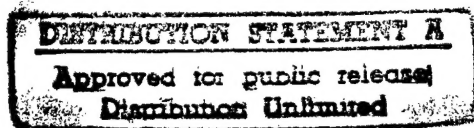


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PARTY PROPAGANDA ON A MASS SCALE MUST BE INTIMATELY RELATED TO LIFE

- USSR -

by V. Moskovskiy

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FOREWORD

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PARTY PROPAGANDA ON A MASS SCALE MUST BE INTIMATELY RELATED TO LIFE

[Following is a translation of an article by V. Moskovskiy in the Russian periodical Kommunist (The Communist), Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, January 1960, Moscow, pages 55-66.]

The year 1959 was marked by events of vast historical significance and by brilliant triumphs in all branches of the national economy. Never before have we done so much in one year, or achieved such great successes in the field of economics and scientific research and discovery, or in improving the material well-being of the people, as in the first year of the Seven-Year Plan.

All mankind has saluted our Motherland for the remarkable successes gained in its struggle for consolidating the peace and for relieving international tension. The historical visit of N. S. Khrushchev to the United States of America was a great contribution to this noble cause. His magnificent speeches in the USA gave rise to a feeling of deep satisfaction and gratitude among all peoples: They saw a real possibility of creating a lasting peace and of ending once and for all the horrors of destructive wars.

The Soviet Union is firmly and consistently struggling for peace. After hearing an address by comrade N. S. Khrushchev concerning disarmament as a means of consolidating the peace and guaranteeing friendship among peoples, the January session of the Supreme Soviet USSR adopted a law on a new large-scale reduction of the armed forces of the USSR by 1,200,000 men.

The address by the head of the Soviet Government and the documents adopted by the Supreme Soviet USSR have excited the peoples and the governments of all countries. World public opinion was literally shaken by the news of the decisions of the Supreme Soviet session. The press of the socialist countries and the entire progressive press of the capitalist states considered the new step of the Soviet Union to be an act of remarkable historical significance and a sign of the true peaceableness and supreme humanism of the Soviet people.

The enormous successes in solving the tasks of economic and cultural construction -- conclusive evidence of the growth of Communist consciousness -- are the result of the gigantic organizational and educational work of the Communist Party. These achievements create every possibility for laying a firm foundation in 1960 for premature fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan. However, in order to realize the great possibilities which we possess, it is necessary to conduct organizational and political work among the masses with a scope characteristic

of the Bolsheviks. It is necessary to unite the will of millions of people into one will and to assist them in understanding the great tasks which stand before the country, in correctly organizing labor in each area, and in cultivating within the people a creative attitude toward the cause. It is necessary to develop more broadly the initiative of workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia, and to draw the workers into socialist competition. All this cannot be achieved without the everyday, active, well-applied educational work of the party and the state encompassing all strata of society.

The decree recently adopted by the Central Committee CPSU concerning the tasks of party propaganda under contemporary conditions is a most important link in the general chain of party measures for the extensive construction of Communism. This remarkable document discloses with exhaustive clarity the great mobilizing and organizational role of Marxist-Leninist theory and the over-all significance of ideological work for the Communist education of the workers, for increasing the production of material goods, creating an abundance of consumer goods, and organizing the Communist mode of life.

The party has always paid a great deal of attention to the development and propagandizing of Marxist-Leninist theory and has exerted much effort for the education of the workers in the true spirit of that theory, for their deep mastering of party policies, and for creating within them a Communist attitude. The decree of the Central Committee CPSU raises still higher the significance of all the work in the Communist enlightenment of the workers and the propagandizing among the masses of the great concepts of Marxism-Leninism. The indissoluble unity of theory and practice is emphasized with new force in the decree. Our propagandizing and over-all political work among the broad circles of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia must be conducted in close unity with the practice of Communist construction and with the political and economic tasks which the Soviet people, under the direction of the party, are fulfilling in the present historical stage of the development of the USSR.

Previously the most significant document was the decree of the Central Committee (November 1938) on the organization of party work in connection with the publication of Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). This decree determined for a long time the direction and nature of ideological work and the propagandizing of Marxist-Leninist theory. Over 20 years have passed since then, life has gone forward a long way, the ideological and political level of the people has risen, and the spiritual interests of the workers have grown and expanded immeasurably. Our country has reached a new historical boundary which has been drawn by all the previous successes of Communist construction. The decree concerning the tasks of party propaganda, which has now been adopted by the Central Committee CPSU, is directly related to the stage of the extensive construction of Communism. The decree was necessitated and determined by the

present stage, and at the same time it was realized to assist the party and the people in carrying out successfully the vast economic plans and political tasks which stand before the USSR under present conditions.

The decree of the Central Committee CPSU is a militant, extensive program of ideological work covering a long period. In following this party document, we can and must do everything to make ideological work more profound and operative and more intimately related to life, so that it may serve as a powerful factor in the struggle of the Soviet people for Communism.

Why are the questions of ideological work and the questions of Communist education now acquiring such remarkable significance?

In order to build a Communist society, necessary above all is the greatest consciousness and solidarity of not only the party, not only the Communist vanguard, the entire working class, all the people. Only then can the great tasks of the construction of Communism be solved and a further increase in labor productivity and an abundance of material and spiritual blessings be achieved, only then will labor become the first vital necessity. Organization and consciousness are achieved through the profound and detailed educational work of the party among the broad masses of workers.

Secondly, the construction of a Communist society consists in the rapid growth of social production based on superior technology, as well as in the many-sided development of the main production forces of society and of the creation of a high-level spiritual culture -- man. In the process of creating a material and technical base for Communism, a new type of citizen is formed who harmoniously combines mental and physical work and who boasts of a many-sided development. This will be promoted by the gradual reduction of the working day, an increase in free time, and the radical reorganization of all elements of public education. The main task of ideological work is to educate the people in the Communist future, the Communist attitude toward labor, Communist morality and outlook, Communist character traits, and living in the Communist way.

Thirdly, methods of explanation and persuasion and of the patient and persistent education of the masses are acquiring and will continue to acquire greater significance in guiding the life of the people in the period of the extensive construction of Communism. On the other hand, administrative measures and elements of coercion will begin to play a lesser role. It is understandable that under these new conditions the tasks of the education of the masses and the ideological work of the party and state are set forth in the first plan.

Finally, the problems of Communist education are of paramount importance, because we shall wage a prolonged struggle against the ideology of imperialism, whose propagandists try by every means to influence Soviet citizens. Peaceful coexistence is not the calm, parallel development of socialism and capitalism, but rather a sharp

economic and ideological struggle, a struggle for superiority in the development of the production forces, science, and technology, and for the conquest of the minds and hearts of millions of workers throughout the world.

Consequently there is a profound, vital basis for advancing to the front line of the struggle for Communism ideological work and the questions of Communist education.

The Central Committee CPSU invariably emphasizes the necessity of closely relating all our propaganda and agitation to the practical tasks of Communist construction.

"Our party work is based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, which lights the path ahead," said N. S. Khrushchev at the June Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU. "But, comrades, we must realize clearly that now that the state power is in the hands of the working class, now that the party guides all matters of Communist construction, in order to inculcate this theory on the consciousness of the people and to consolidate our state it is necessary to develop material production in every way possible. Therefore the question of production organization represents a large portion of all our ideological work at the present stage."

The main direction of party propaganda and all ideological work inside the USSR consists in actively assisting the workers of every enterprise, building project, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz to realize, comprehend, and solve in a practical manner the great tasks set forth by the XXI Party Congress and the subsequent decrees of the party and government; to tirelessly achieve a growth in labor productivity and an improvement in technology; and to struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of production plans.

In following the resolutions of the XX and XXI Party Congress, the party organizations have considerably reorganized the propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism and have carried out a number of measures for overcoming elements of dogmatism and deficiencies. The propagandizing of Communist ideology in the USSR is now of a more vital versatile, creative nature. It is closely related to life and economic and cultural construction. As a result, its efficiency and organizational and educational role have been enhanced.

The decree of the Central Committee CPSU emphasizes that the efficacy of propaganda work is manifested in the concrete results of all sectors of Communist construction. However, although there is frequently much talk about relating propaganda to life, the practical influence of ideological work in improving affairs in plants, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, etc., is still not substantial. However, wherever the purpose of ideological work is both to give the people the necessary theoretical knowledge and to assist them in learning to build their lives and to work in the Communist way, immeasurably remarkable results are being achieved. An example of this is the experience of the party organizations of Ryazanskaya Oblast.

The agricultural toilers of Ryazanskaya Oblast have indeed accomplished an heroic feat. In one year they increased meat production by 3.8 times and sold to the state an amount 3 times greater than specified by the plan. With such an immense growth of productivity in livestock raising on kolkhozes and sovkhoses during the second year of the Seven-Year Plan, livestock has increased by tens of thousands of head in comparison with the previous year.

In briefly explaining how these remarkable results were achieved, one can say that the main factor is the skillful, constant, diverse, thoughtful work with the people, the organization of the broadest exchange of experience, the correct selection and administration of cadres, and the patient education and training of them.

The people who determine the success of the cause -- milkmaids, livestock raisers, pig tenders, shepherds, and livestock-farm workers -- are always within sight of the party organizations of Ryazanskaya Oblast. The oblast and rayon party committees and the primary party organizations have succeeded in reaching each kolkhoz and sovkhos and, in many rayons, each toiler, with their party speeches and ardent appeals. In order to achieve the courageous goal of increasing meat production by 3.8 times in one year, vast political explanatory work was carried out among the masses. All the cultural forces and the ideological organizations were used widely for this purpose, and they played a leading role in the propagandizing and instillation of advanced experience.

As an example let us take Shilovskiy Rayon, where notable results were achieved in livestock raising. The village toilers here struggled actively and persistently to increase cattle productivity. Also an important factor was the fact that the youth were drawn into this activity. The party organizations gathered young men and women -- leading workers in kolkhoz construction, explained the tasks to them, and supported the initiative of those who appealed to others of their own age to go and work on the farms. The Komsomol organizations, which all the youths have readily participated in, responded promptly to the call. In one year, 520 Komsomols arrived on farms, and there are now over 2,000 young men and women engaged in livestock raising in the rayon. These people, who are acquiring skills and appreciate everything new and advanced, represent a great force of kolkhoz production. Katya Radyukhina, for instance, recently a milkmaid, is now secretary of the rayon Komsomol committee. She is 23 years old. In 1954 she finished secondary school and went to work on a kolkhoz. While working on a farm, she was appointed as a club manager. "A movement began for the recruitment of workers in livestock raising," Katya states. "I began agitating the secondary-school students to work on farms, but they told me that whereas I had a soft job, I wanted them to tend pigs and calves. Realizing that a personal example was needed, I left the club and returned to the farm as a milkmaid. I worked there for 3 years, during which time I milked up to 6,000 liters per year from each of

the 11 cows allotted to me. The young men and women followed my example and went to work on the farms. Several weeks ago I left the farm, and the Komsomols elected me secretary of the rayon committee."

In the rayon, inter-kolkhoz schools for advanced experience are in their second year of existence. Their program is being worked out by the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Shilovskiy Rayon Party Committee in conjunction with the kolkhoz chairmen. The achievements of scientific ideas and the experience of the best cattle raisers are becoming the property of the broad masses of kolkhoz workers. In January an economic seminar was conducted there. Its topic was increased milk production. Representatives from all kolkhozes and sovkhoses participated in the seminar. Specialists from the Ryazanskiy Agricultural Institute assisted the village toilers in disclosing the great reserves for increasing milk production, and particularly in noting the practical measures for combatting barrenness in cows and for the broad use of artificial insemination. An exchange of the experiences of advanced workers on the farms was conducted on a large scale. Experts of kolkhoz production spend several days among the backward artels and brigades, teaching their colleagues professional labor methods.

Unfortunately, the practice characteristic of the party organizations of Ryazanskaya Oblast is not yet to be found everywhere. The verbal and printed propaganda and the political work among the masses, correctly stipulated in the decree of the Central Committee CPSU, still suffer serious shortcomings. They lag behind as regards the present tasks of economic and cultural construction. The narrowness of its sphere of influence and poor mass organization are immense problems in propaganda and agitation work. Frequently, propaganda work is done only with Communists, Komsomols, and aktivs close to the party. The broad masses of workers, who determine success in the matter in a practical way, frequently are not reached by party propaganda. The very first task is to surmount this great shortcoming, expand the scope of our agitation and propaganda, and raise its level so that each worker is encompassed by true Communist influence.

One cannot but observe that the interest of the Soviet people in profoundly studying party policies is growing each day. This can be seen in many examples, the very latest of which is the organization of the propagandizing of the resolutions of the December Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU. At the present time, new traits are emerging which testify to the aspiration of party organizations as regards satisfying the political inquiries of village toilers as broadly and as completely as possible. As is known, besides the members of the Central Committee and the Inspection Committee, hundreds of advanced workers from kolkhoz villages, heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and agricultural specialists participated in the work of the Plenum. Along with the propagandists and the agitators, they are doing important work in explaining the resolutions of the Plenum at kolkhozes and sovkhoses by giving addresses and conducting talks and readings. Along with this,

at the request of kolkhoz members in Yaroslavskaya, Kostomskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, and other oblasts, circles for studying the materials of the December Plenum are being created. In Kostromskaya Oblast, for instance, 2,500 such circles already exist for kolkhoz members. They were designed for three to four studies of the materials of the Plenum. Questions on the development of agriculture are studied in the circles by means of considering what the given oblast, rayon, or kolkhoz can submit for the practical realization of the tasks presented by the Plenum of the Central Committee. Party activists, agricultural specialists, and leading workers from kolkhozes and sovkhoses guide the circles.

In recent years, a broad range of persons, including those in villages, have received instruction in economic knowledge. During the present academic year, for instance, in just the party organizations of Moskovskaya, Leningradskaya, and Voronezhskaya oblasts and the Krasnodarskiy and Stavropol'skiy krais, problems of concrete economics are being studied by over 200,000 persons. In each rayon of Voronezhskaya Oblast there are four permanent seminars: heads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses; brigade leaders of field and tractor brigades; managers of farms and zootechnicians; and accountants of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In Stavropol'skiy Kray, 3,500 chiefs of economic schools, where tens of thousands of kolkhoz members study, have been created. In many oblasts, economic conferences are systematically conducted, seminars are arranged, and trips to advanced farms are organized.

However, the level and scope of the propagandizing of economic knowledge still do not answer the requirements of life -- the immense tasks posed by the XXI Party Congress in the sphere of economic construction. In several party organizations, the attention given the study of questions of economics is slackening. For instance, in the present academic year in Ul'yanovskaya Oblast, the number of those studying economics in the party education network has decreased by 11 percent. This includes rayons (Astradamovskiy and Staro-Kulatkinskiy) where there was not a single circle or seminar for the study of political economics. In Nikolayevskiy Rayon only one such circle is operating. There are about 40,000 Komsomols engaged in industry or agriculture in the oblast, but only 960 of them are studying economics.

We cannot have ideological work which exists independently of the production activities of the workers, or which does not serve the tasks of the development of social production. Ideological work can become fruitful and fulfill its high purpose only when it helps the people increase material and spiritual benefits, improve their lives, and raise the level of culture and Communist consciousness.

Party organizations, propagandists, and agitators have been summoned to speak vividly and emotionally on the immense victories gained by the Soviet people and signifying the triumph of the Leninist party line. To the masses, as well as individuals, they must explain what Communism is and what great benefits it brings the Soviet people --

the people of labor. At the same time, it is necessary to strive persistently for propaganda which each toiler can understand thoroughly. Communist ideals can be realized only under conditions of an abundance of material and spiritual benefits. To create such an abundance, paramount importance is given to an increase in the production of metal, machinery, oil, coal, electric power, grain, meat, butter, clothing, shoes, and housing construction. All this requires selfless creative labor from each Soviet citizen, no matter what position he holds.

It is important that each Soviet citizen be acquainted with the general figures of the Seven-Year Plan and the plan for 1960, and that he knows the deadlines and norms which the enterprise, kolkhoz, or brigade in which he works must meet and fulfill, and what he personally must do to realize the projected goals. Such profound daily explanatory work will help the workers and kolkhoz members to realize more fully the importance of their labor to the state, and will permit them to see more clearly that their labor is the most important contribution to the general cause of the struggle for Communism.

The first responsibility of party organizations, propagandists, and agitators is to actively and persistently create an atmosphere of creative labor and production enthusiasm at each enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, building project, and institute. It is necessary to develop in every way possible the initiative of the broad masses of workers in research and in the best use of the reserves for increasing production.

"Communism begins," wrote V. I. Lenin in The Great Beginning, "where there appears among the common workers a selfless concern indicating their willingness to engage in hard labor to increase labor productivity and protect each pod of grain, coal, iron, and other products that are supplied not to the workers personally or to their neighbors, but to the entire public as a whole, to the tens and hundreds of millions of people who were the first to unite into one socialist state, and later into the Union of Soviet Republics" (Works, Vol. 29, page 394).

The era of the extensive construction of Communism provides many examples of such a Communist concern by the common workers and peasants for the common welfare. Here is one of them: At the Chelyabinsk metallurgical plant it was planned to set up a powerful mill for the hot rolling of thick sheet steel. One stand of this mill, which had been manufactured in a foreign country, was found to be technologically obsolete. The workers, engineers, and technicians of the plant raised the question of modernizing the mill before setting it up in order to guarantee a steady rolling of sheet steel. This suggestion, which was submitted by the sovnarkhoz and the Gosplan RSFSR, received the support of the RSFSR Bureau of the Central Committee CPSU. By exploiting the remarkable initiative of the plant collective, the productivity of the rolling mill was increased by 2-3 times. Similar labor prowess and selflessness has been shown by members of

brigades of Communist labor and doers of glorious deeds -- textile workers Valentina Gaganova, Yubya Vecherova, and many others.

At the Kirov Kolkhoz in Ryazanskaya Oblast, Raya Trifonova works as a milkmaid brigade leader. "Not long ago," she says, "a backward kolkhoz joined us. It was necessary to help it immediately, so following Gaganova's example, I went to work with the brigade of the most backward milkmaids. With some regret, I left my remarkable brigade. I have been working with the backward collective for 2 months. During this time I succeeded in establishing a stable daily routine for the cows. The milkmaids began to feed and clean the animals on time. As a result, the milk has now increased by 4 kilograms per day from each cow. We are all living very amicably and enjoy a great and interesting life. All the milkmaids read and subscribe to newspapers. We have our fine library, which contains much fiction, and we have organized a choir. We are now installing gas stoves in our apartments, which will give us more free time."

Such examples of assistance given by advanced workers to a backward segment of kolkhoz production are not exceptions. It is the new which now characterizes life in the village. Along with a growth in the labor activities of artel members and a consolidation of the material base of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the spiritual life of rural toilers is becoming brighter, more interesting, and more varied.

Our propaganda has been called on to praise the glory of the advanced workers, tirelessly popularize their experience, and strive for application of that experience at each enterprise. It is essential not only to explain the advanced labor methods, but also to speak of them skillfully and give useful advice on how to apply them in practice. This requires of propagandists, agitators, and other ideological workers a knowledge of economic theory and of concrete economics. It is a matter of forming a new type of propagandist -- a person who faces life boldly, understands production perfectly, and is capable of transmitting ideas, policies, and party decisions to the masses, as well as organizing the workers in the struggle for fulfillment of their goals.

A striking example of the great accomplishments of the national economy in conjunction with the tireless development of Marxist-Leninist theory is shown to all of us by comrade N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee CPSU. A combination of economic and technical knowledge with a correct understanding of the laws of social development is the most important task of the self-education of the party aktiv.

Some party organizations still evaluate ideological work merely in accordance with the number of measures taken, and not in accordance with its results or how it promotes the development of competition and the fulfillment of plans by enterprises, shops, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses, or how it helps to increase the labor and public activity

of workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, women, and youth. There are also cases in which party leaders, indicating the generally satisfactory indexes of the economic development of an oblast, village, or rayon, cease bothering with the improvement of propaganda and agitation work or the education of all the workers in the spirit of the correct Communist attitude toward labor. This results in a slackening of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, against instances of nationalism and religious obscurantism, and against violations of the rules of a socialist society and other survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people.

The decree of the Central Committee CPSU directs the attention of party organizations, all our ideological institutes, the social-science departments of educational institutions, and the Soviet press to the necessity of decisively strengthening the propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism and a profound study by cadres, party members, and the broad masses of non-party people of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Marxist philosophy and political economy. The theory of scientific Communism is a true basis for improving the Communist consciousness of the workers and for educating them in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The decree of the Central Committee obliges our propagandists and all ideological cadres to conduct an active offensive against bourgeois ideology and its right-wing socialist and revisionist advocates. "In concrete cases of the struggle for the realization of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence," the decree states, "party propaganda has been called on to educate the workers in a spirit of pride in their great Motherland, which is the vanguard of the forces for peace and progress; to rouse in each Soviet citizen a warm aspiration to strengthen the might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp through selfless labor; to participate actively in the great cause of the competition between socialism and capitalism; and to assist in every way possible in strengthening the cause of peace throughout the entire world. Henceforth it will be necessary to decisively expose the imperialists who would continue the 'cold war,' as well as all those who strive to maintain and aggravate international tension and the armament race."

As a result of the immense victories of the peaceable policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, a real prospect for a durable peace on earth has unfolded before all peoples. The slackening of international tension is the result of a long process of change in the correlation of forces between the two systems of socialism and capitalism; it is a consequence of the growth of the power and influence of the peaceful camp of socialism.

The "cold war" of the imperialists against the USSR and all the socialist countries, which has lasted for over 10 years, has not prevented us and our fellow nations from achieving successes in economic and cultural construction or from creating an economic and

military power which will forever bury the capitalist-reaction dreams of having the weapons and strength to succeed in turning the people's democracies and the USSR toward the capitalist road of development. The more farsighted and sober representatives of the capitalist world are beginning to understand that they are in no position to change the shaping correlation of forces. It cannot be considered accidental that in the USA they are creating special agencies for studying the reasons why America is lagging behind the USSR in economic development and in the field of science and technology.

Every sensible person realizes that the huge successes of Soviet science and technology, particularly in exploring the cosmos, were made possible only by the high standard of economic development in the USSR, based on a powerful socialist industry. The launching of the Soviet cosmic rocket to the moon -- a distance of about 400,000 kilometers -- without deviation from course, as well as the recent testing of ballistic missiles in the Pacific, give the American and many other imperialist strategists cause to think carefully. The theory of the "invulnerability" of the USA in case of war has failed. More and more representatives of influential American circles are coming to the conclusion that "the losses in a war would be considerably greater for the USA than the profits they could count on in case of victory.

The events now taking place in the world vividly reflect the successes of the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government -- the policy of peace and friendship among nations. But it is impossible to forget for a moment that consolidation and expansion of the results attained will occur in the presence of an active political and ideological struggle and of economic competition between socialism and capitalism. Peaceful coexistence poses this economic, political, and ideological struggle which is being conducted by peaceful means, but demands of us much strength and skill, as well as flexibility and efficacy in all Soviet propaganda.

The large-scale defeats of the capitalist world in competition with socialism are strengthening the influence of socialism and its ideology in the consciousness of millions of people in the capitalist countries, particularly in those countries which have recently gained their national independence and are seeking the most expedient roads to independent development. The historical visit of N. S. Khrushchev to the USA provoked a genuine upheaval in the consciousness of many ordinary Americans, and gained for our side tens of millions of friends in all the capitalist states.

Bourgeois ideologists, sensing the weakness of their positions and the impossibility of justifying in any way the vices of the imperialist system, are striving in every way possible to belittle the successes of socialism and to embellish and daub in rainbow hues the facade of the decrepit capitalism of today. In the words of one English journalist, they wish "to find a prettier name for an old dying dog."

A typical example of such a clumsy attempt to paint a picture of the "new" capitalist society, in which there is "peace and harmony in God's paradise," is the article "A Changing America" by Daniel Seligman in the journal Amerika. If one is to believe this new "theorist," the American society has changed so much in recent years that it is difficult to distinguish the workers from the capitalists. As evidence he utilizes both semantics and a bluntly falsified picture of prosperity for all. It is shown that much is resolved by changing terminology. In fact, this is already being done in all fields. In a school the watchman's job is occupied by an "equipment manager." A typist typing letters in an office is now called a "girl Friday" and becomes her chief's right hand. A janitor is entrusted with simple repair work, and he becomes a mechanic. A secretary frequently fulfills complex administrative responsibilities, etc. Is it not true that all these people are easily converted into workers which, in name, do not differ from capitalists? Only the former receive much less for their work than do the latter. (The author, for completely understandable reasons, does not touch upon this subject.) The main thing is new "terminology." In connection with this, there will soon be no workers left in the enterprises of the USA: there will only be stockholders.

Fear of the growing influence of socialist ideology on the workers of the capitalist countries is expressed in the book Why NATO?, recently published in Paris, by Spaak, the Belgian Social Democrat. The author attacks the policy of peaceful coexistence conducted by the Soviet Union, which he views as the "chief danger" to the West. Through this policy, in Spaak's opinion, the USSR has already "thoroughly undermined the positions of the Western powers, particularly in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa." He writes that the USSR is skillfully utilizing the anticolonial sentiments of the peoples of the East, as well as its authority acquired as a result of its immense scientific and technological achievements. Spaak was forced to confess that "these successes have engendered a conviction among a large number of Africans and Asians that, with the assistance of the USSR, they will achieve a rapid industrialization of their countries."

One of the decisive conditions which ensure the growing influence of the USSR, he further asserts, is its skillful use of the powerful weapon of propaganda. Soviet propaganda has such a strong influence on public opinion in the Western countries, the Belgian Social Democrat confesses, that mass trends arise within them and "the statesmen and political parties must at times display great courage in order not to yield to these trends."

Bourgeois politicians and propagandists understand the immense power of attraction of the ideas of Communism. They fear that successful fulfillment of the program of Communist construction, outlined by the XXI Party Congress, will add new strength to all the

fighters for social and economic progress, particularly in the countries of the East. Therefore bourgeois ideologists are drawing up prescriptions for putting capitalism in a healthy state. They speak of alleged available reserves and unutilized possibilities for progress in the capitalist economy, and attempt to make gullible people believe that the world of capitalism can still win the competition with socialism.

The most important task of our propaganda is to conduct a militant, aggressive struggle against pernicious bourgeois ideology. Relying on the facts of contemporary reality, it is necessary to expose persistently the "new" arguments and false concoctions of the bourgeois hirelings and to show the immense, irrefutable successes of socialism in peaceful competition and its advantages over capitalism in the field of economics, the development of democracy and personal freedom, and the creation of conditions for the constant growth of material prosperity and culture among the masses. In particular, we should utilize broadly the statements of the press and statesmen and scholars of the West who, under pressure of facing reality, are more and more frequently forced to acknowledge the successes of socialism and to expose the vices of the bourgeois world to devastating criticism. Our propagandists must be able to show that capitalism, by its nature, has been and continues to be a most brutal, despotic, and unjust system, no matter what labels its learned lackeys attempt to give it.

The superiority of one structure over another is shown in the final analysis by the material and spiritual benefits it provides man, and by the manner in which these benefits are distributed among all the people. One must consider that the bourgeois apologists hold in their hands such a "trump" as the comparatively higher standard of living of certain categories of the population of the USA. Sometimes this fact nonpluses the more poorly prepared propagandists, and they attempt to avoid a direct answer. This, of course, is incorrect. The propagandist must not evade such questions, but explain them skillfully, truthfully, and convincingly. One must bear in mind that the USA has not known destructive wars within its territory for two centuries and that the capitalist magnates have utilized the First and Second World Wars for large-scale profits. Secondly, the degree of exploitation of the workers of the USA is the greatest of all the developed capitalist countries. Thirdly, the American monopolies broadly exploit both the working class of their own country and the peoples of colonies and dependent states -- the so-called "backward countries," where they frequently gain vast profits. All this of course permits the monopolistic bourgeoisie of the USA to allot a portion of its incredible profits for the support of a more or less high standard of living by several groups of the population. One cannot forget, however, that tens of millions of Americans are unemployed and that their families live in extreme poverty.

In the course of the ideological struggle, the imperialist reaction actively utilizes contemporary revisionism. The revisionists profess that within a century of technical development, the development of industrial forces will itself sooner or later lead to the liquidation of the production relations and the entire superstructure of capitalist society. They attempt to suggest to the workers that the ruling bourgeoisie is no longer in a position to resist the will of the majority and that it will yield its positions willingly. The contemporary betrayers of the cause of the working class more and more frequently reveal themselves as agents of imperialism, as bearers of hostile imperialist ideology in the proletarian movement. This is why we must henceforth expose persistently the reactionary nature of bourgeois ideology and its variant -- revisionism.

Imperialist propaganda has attempted for several decades to ignore the successes of the Soviet Union and to depict our country as backward. The launching of the Soviet earth satellites, the launching of the cosmic rockets, the immense achievements of Soviet science and technology in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the creation of the most modern aircraft in the world, and many other achievements of the Soviet people have inflicted a crushing blow to bourgeois propaganda.

In his addresses before the American people, comrade N. S. Khrushchev indicated vividly and convincingly and with profound force the great, progressive significance of Communism. Citing facts and figures, he disclosed to his audiences the nature and significance of the great achievements which have been attained by the Soviet people in all walks of life. This was a powerful new blow to the false imperialist propaganda.

All this forces the leaders of the bourgeois ideological front to reorganize, to change to new conditions, and to develop more versatile tactics. Frontal attacks and coarse anti-Soviet concoctions have not brought imperialist propaganda the desired successes. Its authority has already been thoroughly shaken. Those who subsidize anti-Soviet propaganda -- Rockefeller and Dupont -- are dissatisfied. They are demanding more zealous work from their hired band of writers-robbers and from their radio liars. "We must transfer the war of ideas to the territory of the enemy," they say. In other words, they hope to conduct an ideological struggle within the socialist countries.

The calculations of the troubadours of imperialism that they will somehow manage to transfer anti-Soviet propaganda to our territory and achieve definite successes, are built on sand. The Soviet people are infinitely devoted to the great cause of the construction of Communism. They are tightly united around their militant vanguard -- the glorious Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee. However, we cannot but consider the pernicious influence which bourgeois ideology exerts on backward people. Our propaganda

is designed to expose sharply, convincingly, and clearly the cunning methods of the ideologies of capitalism, without desisting in any way from showing vital examples of the advantages of the socialist system and Marxist-Leninist ideology and promoting the formation of the new citizen with Communist character traits and morals.

The main tasks of party propaganda and of all political work, the decree of the Central Committee CPSU states, "consists in deeply and thoroughly explaining the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, showing their successful application in the struggle of the party for the victory of socialism and Communism in our country, teaching their use in practical work and in developing creatively the theoretical wealth amassed by the party, rallying the workers in the struggle for applying the policies of the party, and educating active and staunch fighters for Communism."

All the conditions and possibilities exist for raising ideological work and the entire cause of Communist education to the level of the demands of the new period of Communist construction in the USSR. Never before have we had such favorable conditions for the development of broad political work among the masses or for administering to millions of workers economic and political knowledge and the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

First, the cadres of propagandists are now filled with leading party and economic workers, engineers and technicians, and agricultural specialists -- persons well trained in theory and policy, excellently versed in technology and economics, and having a great deal of work experience. This permits us to raise considerably the level of propaganda and agitation work and to relate it more closely to life and to the solution of the economic tasks of the second year of the Seven-Year Plan.

Second, propaganda and agitation possess such remarkable ideological weapons as the decisions of the XX and XXI Party Congresses and the June and December (1959) plenums of the Central Committee CPSU, in which a scientifically well-grounded program was developed and concrete steps for its realization indicated. The arsenal of resources of our ideological work was enriched by the decree of the Central Committee CPSU "On the tasks of Party Propaganda under contemporary conditions." The network of party enlightenment embraces a large number of manuals and training aids in almost all questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, thereby making it possible to organize correctly the work of all forms of party enlightenment.

Third, the growth in the material prosperity and cultural level of the workers of the USSR ensures that the "seeds" of the propagandists and agitators will fall on more favorable soil, and that their speeches will find a more lively response than ever before in the hearts of the Soviet people. The citizens of the USSR see the steadily growing prosperity as a result of the application of Marxist-Leninist teachings and the policies of our party. Thus faith in the party and

its ideas is strengthening among the masses, and millions of people are increasingly desirous of learning the doctrine of Communism.

This means that there are exceptionally favorable conditions for profound ideological-political and cultural-educational work with all the workers. The entire cause now depends on the ability of party organizations and cadres on the ideological front to organize correctly their activities; to rally, train, and arrange their forces; and to provide daily qualified leadership for all participants in their broad and varied ideological work. This will raise ideological work to the level of the requirements of extensive Communist construction.

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